

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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P 082015Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4993

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 5997

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR

SUBJECT: US-BRAZILIAN CONSULTATIONS

REF: A. STATE 169605; B. STATE 169606

1. FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA'S ONLY COMMENT ON THE CYPRUS PART OF THE SECRETARY'S LETTER WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT HE KNEW HOW MUCH THE SECRETARY HAD DONE TO BRING ABOUT THE CURRENT REASONABLY SATISFACTORY SITUATION.

2. CONCERNING THE PARAGRAPH ON THE CONSULTATION PROCESS, SILVEIRA SAID: "I WILL WRITE TO HENRY NOW." (THE "NOW" MAY BE SIGNIFICANT. I HAVE HAD THE IMPRESSION FOR SOME TIME THAT SILVEIRA WOULD NOT SERIOUSLY ADDRESS THE CONSULTATIONS QUESTION UNTIL HE HAD HAD SOME RESPONSE TO HIS POLITICAL PLEAS ON SHOES. THIS IMPRESSION WAS BASED IN PART ON HIS STALLING TACTICS WHEN I HAVE REMINDED HIM THAT HE HAD EXPRESSED THE INTENTION, ON RECEIVING THE SECRETARY'S JUNE 13 LETTER, TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION FURTHER WITH ME.)

3. IN THE ENSUING CONVERSATION SILVEIRA MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS, MANY OF THEM ELICITED BY MY QUESTIONS, EXPLANATIONS OR COMMENTS:

A. IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE SECRETARY VISIT BRAZIL AND, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, IN OCTOBER. SILVEIRA SAID THAT, OF COURSE, HE WOULD GO TO WASHINGTON FOR THE FIRST

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MEETING OF CONSULTATION IF NECESSARY BUT HIS TRIP WOULD NOT

HAVE ANYWHERE NEARLY SO GREAT AN IMPACT "ON THE OTHERS"  
(READ: THE OTHER LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS) AS THE  
SECRETARY'S PRESENCE IN BRAZIL.

B. SILVEIRA'S TENTATIVE IDEA OF A SUITABLE PROGRAM  
WOULD BE THIS:

1. A MEETING IN SEPTEMBER AT THE UNGA FOR A GENERAL  
REVIEW (NOTABLY CUBA, SEE BRASILIA 5964), AND PREPARATIONS  
FOR THE FIRST ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS, AS THE  
SECRETARY'S LETTER SUGGESTED;

2. A MEETING BETWEEN SILVEIRA AND THE SECRETARY  
IN BRASILIA IN OCTOBER, WITH THE TWO MEN DISCUSSING AN  
AGENDA THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON AT THE UNGA  
MEETING. AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME, SILVEIRA WOULD INVITE OTHER  
BRAZILIAN CABINET MINISTERS TO JOIN THE TWO PRINCIPALS FOR  
DISCUSSIONS OF SUBJECTS RELEVANT TO THEIR PORTFOLIOS.  
WITH RESPECT TO THE "STAFFS" OF THE PRINCIPALS, SILVEIRA  
EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE FIRST ROUND SHOULD BE  
"EMINENTLY POLITICAL" AND SHOULD BE CONDUCTED BY THE  
PRINCIPALS, WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO THE STAFFS CONCERNING  
FURTHER WORK TO EMERGE FROM THEIR MEETINGS. IN SUBSEQUENT  
ROUNDS, SILVEIRA SAID, THE PROCEDURE WOULD BE REVERSED,  
WITH THE STAFFS DISCUSSING MATTERS AND PASSING PROPOSALS  
OR RECOMMENDATIONS UPWARD. THESE COMMENTS WERE IN PART  
PROVOKED BY MY STATEMENTS THAT, AS I UNDERSTOOD THE QUESTION,  
WASHINGTON DID NOT ENVISAGE THAT THERE WOULD NECESSARILY  
BE A DIRECT TIMING OR EVEN SUBSTANTIVE LINK BETWEEN THE  
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE PRINCIPALS AND THE SEMI-ANNUAL  
MEETINGS OF THE STAFFS, WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE TWO ELEMENTS OF CONSULTATION TO BE WORKED OUT IN  
PRACTICE. I INTENDED THIS OBSERVATION TO ADDRESS  
SILVEIRA'S APPARENT WORRY, EXPRESSED FUZZILY AND TENTA-  
TIVELY IN OUR VERY FIRST BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT  
AND MANIFESTED AGAIN IN AN EQUALLY IMPRECISE WAY IN  
EINAUDI'S AND MY CONVERSATION WITH HIM ON JUNE 28,  
THAT TOO MUCH INVOLVEMENT OF STAFFS WOULD "BUREAU-  
CRATIZE" THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS (AND, FROM SILVEIRA'S  
POINT OF VIEW, I SUSPECT, SOMEHOW REDUCE ITS, AND HIS,  
LUSTRE).

C. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULTATIONS, ESPEC-  
IALLY IF THEY WERE TO BEGIN SOON AND IN BRASILIA, WOULD  
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BE VERY USEFUL AND "STABILIZING" IN RELATION TO OTHER  
COUNTRIES. SILVEIRA COMMENTED THAT OF COURSE WE (THE  
US AND BRAZIL SHOULD NOT BE "TRUCULENT" BY BEING OBVIOUS  
ABOUT DISCUSSING OTHER COUNTRIES AND THAT PRIOR TO THE INITI-  
ATION OF THE CONSULTATIONS BRAZIL WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE  
TO "OPEN" ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, AS IT  
HAD DONE WITH MEXICO, FOR EXAMPLE.

D. HE WOULD CONTINUE TO GIVE THOUGHT TO THE WAY

IN WHICH THE CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE STRUCTURED, AND HE WOULD BE WRITING TO THE SECRETARY, AS WELL, OF COURSE, AS PLANNING TO DISCUSS THE MATTER AT THE MEETING IN NEW YORK.

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ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4994

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 5997

EXDIS

4. COMMENTS: THIS CONVERSATION LEADS ME TO THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS, WHICH HAVE TO BE TENTATIVE BECAUSE THE DISCUSSION, EVEN THOUGH REASONABLY SUBSTANTIVE, STILL REFLECTED A GOOD DEAL OF THINKING OUT LOUD BY SILVEIRA.

A. SILVEIRA WOULD LIKE THE CONSULTATIONS TO BE AS VISIBLE AS POSSIBLE. WITH RESPECT TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, THEY SHOULD CLEARLY MANIFEST A SPECIAL POSITION OF BRAZIL IN RELATION TO THE UNITED STATES. INTERNALLY, THEY SHOULD SERVE HIS BUREAUCRATIC PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING THE PRIMACY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER VIS-A-VIS HIS CABINET COLLEAGUES INVOLVED IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. UNDERSTANDABLY ALSO, THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF PERSONAL PRESTIGE PRESENT.

B. THE CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE STRUCTURED AND AT A HIGH LEVEL. AT ONE POINT SILVEIRA INDICATED TO ME THAT HE HAD THOUGHT OF A PROCEDURE THAT, FROM HIS DESCRIPTION, STRUCK ME AS BEING PRETTY MUCH LIKE THE CABINET-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WE CONDUCT WITH OUR MAJOR ALLIES, WITH SECRETARIES/MINISTERS TRAVELLING EN BLOC TO CAPITALS. THE REFERENCE IN PARA 3 (B) (2) ABOVE TO THE OPENING UP OF THE PRINCIPALS' MEETINGS TO OTHER MINISTERS CAN BE INTERPRETED AS A VERSION OF THIS IDEA.

C. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE SOURCE OF SILVEIRA'S PRINCIPAL DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL OF JUNE 13 HAS BEEN ITS OBVIOUS INTENT TO LOW-KEY THE CONSULTATIONS. THIS INFORMAL APPROACH CONFLICTS WITH

WHAT I DEDUCE SILVEIRA'S BASIC PURPOSES TO BE AND WITH  
WHAT SILVEIRA THOUGHT THE SECRETARY HAD AGREED TO IN  
ATLANTA.

D. CONCERNING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO BRAZIL,  
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SILVEIRA STRONGLY HOPES AND DESIRES THAT THE SECRETARY  
WILL COME AND PROMPTLY. I ALSO HAVE THE IMPRESSION FROM  
SILVEIRA'S REFERENCES TO THE EFFECT ON OTHERS OF THE VISIT  
THAT HE MAY HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY WILL NOT DILUTE HIS  
TRIP TO BRAZIL BY GOING ELSEWHERE. IN ALL OUR PREVIOUS  
CONVERSATIONS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT, WE HAVE AL-  
WAYS TALKED IN TERMS OF A TRIP TO SEVERAL COUNTRIES, IN-  
CLUDING BRAZIL, BUT I THOUGHT I DETECTED A "UNILATERAL"  
TONE CREEPING INTO SOME OF SILVEIRA'S REMARKS. I DID  
NOT WANT TO COME AT THIS HEAD-ON WITH HIM BECAUSE HIS COMMENTS  
WERE NOT THAT PRECISE AND BECAUSE I DO NOT REALLY KNOW  
WHAT THE TREND OF INSIDE THINKING IN WASHINGTON CURRENTLY  
IS.

5. FOR MY PART, I BELIEVE THAT THE LOW-KEYING OF THE CON-  
SULTATIONS IS CORRECT. I DO NOT THINK THAT OUR BROAD  
INTERESTS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD ARE BEST SERVED  
CURRENTLY BY PUBLIC SHOW OF EXTRAORDINARILY SPECIAL TREAT-  
MENT IN BRAZIL. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUM-  
STANCES BRAZIL'S OWN INTERESTS ARE NOT ADVANCED BY THE  
KIND OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONAL INTIMACY THAT SILVEIRA APPEARS  
TO BE THINKING OF. BY THE SAME TOKEN, I HOPE THAT, WHEN  
THE SECRETARY COMES, HE WILL BE VISITING OTHER COUNTRIES.  
IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT IF HIS ITINERARY PERMITTED HIM TO  
MAKE HIS FIRST STOP HERE.  
CRIMMINS

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